

Routes to tour in Germany

The Harz and Heath Route



German roads will get you there — to areas at times so attractive that one route leads to the next, from the Harz mountains to the Lüneburg Heath, say. Maybe you should take a look at both. The Harz, northernmost part of the Mittelgebirge range, is holiday country all the year round. In summer for hikers, in winter for skiers in their tens of thousands. Tour from the hill resorts of Osterode, Clausthal-Zellerfeld or Bad Harzburg or from the 1,000-

year-old town of Goslar. The Heath extends from Celle, with its town centre of half-timbered houses unscathed by the war and the oldest theatre in Germany, to Lüneburg, also 1,000 years old. It boasts wide expanses of flat countryside, purple heather and herds of local curly-horned sheep.

Visit Germany and let the Harz and Heath Route be your guide.



- 1 Brunswick
- 2 An old Lüneburg Heath farmhouse
- 3 The Harz
- 4 Göttingen

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German troops to help UN peace keeping mooted

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Who wants to amend Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, to allow German troops to be sent on peace missions outside Nato territory? And who is opposed to the idea?

Oddly enough, the Social Democrats are keen to rewrite the constitution to enable West German soldiers to be seconded to United Nations peacekeeping forces.

Bonn government spokesman Herbert Schmitting, representing the ruling Christian and Free Democrats, marshals trusted arguments against.

Both Basic Law and the North Atlantic Treaty rule out the deployment of Bundeswehr units outside Nato territory, he says. Besides, members of the United Nations have called on the Federal Republic to send troops to man a peace-keeping force.

Both arguments deserve closer scrutiny. True enough, no-one at the UN in New York has formally approached the Federal Republic.

Yet if we all set such great store by peace as politicians of all hues claim, why not German troops to be sent to serve under UN command as members of a United Nations peacekeeping force?

We are regularly — and blandly — told that Basic Law rules out the option. But views may differ on this interpretation, especially as it dates back to a 3 November 1982 political decision by the Federal Security Council.

The Kohl government marshalled the constitutional argument that the Bundeswehr could only be deployed in response to an attack on the Federal Republic itself to ward off allied pressure for a German presence in the Persian Gulf.

Besides, German foreign policy is said in principle to be subordinate to international law, which as defined by the United Nations and others is extremely generous in its interpretation of what constitutes self-defence.

So the bid by SPD strategists Hermann Scheer and Norbert Gansel may be superfluous. Basic Law may not need any amendment to sanction the secondment of Bundeswehr units for service with UN peacekeeping forces.

For decades the rest of the world was only too happy to see the descendants of Guderian and Rommel stay in their own country or go no further afield than Nato ranges. That too must not be forgotten.

But times change and people begin to wonder whether the Federal Republic is "smaller" (or can afford to make itself out to be "smaller") than Norway, population four million, or Fiji, population 800,000, who for years have sent troops out to serve with Unifil in Lebanon and keep an uneasy peace.

The United Nations has set up seven peacekeeping forces over the years, and 550 blue-helmeted soldiers under UN command have died in action.

In other words, keeping the peace has taken its toll, and without offering glory in return.

Yet if we all set such great store by peace as politicians of all hues claim, why not German troops to be sent to serve under UN command as members of a United Nations peacekeeping force?

What, for that matter, does Article 87 of Basic Law say? Other than for defense purposes, it says, the Bundeswehr may only be deployed in cases expressly permitted by Basic Law.

This provision, according to the Mandler and Klein commentary on Basic Law, was aimed mainly at limiting the domestic deployment of the Bundeswehr.

Besides, German foreign policy is said in principle to be subordinate to international law, which as defined by the United Nations and others is extremely generous in its interpretation of what constitutes self-defence.

So the bid by SPD strategists Hermann Scheer and Norbert Gansel may be superfluous. Basic Law may not need any amendment to sanction the secondment of Bundeswehr units for service with UN peacekeeping forces.



Calf-fattening scandal; buyers boycott veal

Thousands of hormone-treated calves kept in appalling conditions are being destroyed as a public-health measure. See page 8. (Photo: Uwe Pfeil)

What is definitely needed is, however,

a political debate in which West Germans come to appreciate their international responsibilities 43 years after the war's end.

On this count there is a wider consensus between the political parties than Herr Schmitting's comments might at first glance seem to indicate.

Christian Democratic Defence Minister Rupert Scholz is, for instance, one of a number of politicians who have given serious consideration to UN commitments.

Few if anyone would deny that the Federal Republic is a powerful country for a state of its size, and who can deny that power carries responsibility?

Is the Federal Republic entitled to shoulder less responsibility than neutral Austria, which was also on the losing side in World War II and has since placed Austrian troops under UN command? Power as such is not evil even

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Everyone — except players — turns up to talk about just why brothers

would be both appropriate and to be welcomed if it were to decide in favour of placing units under UN command.

Germany has fared very well so far with its abstinence in world affairs. The Germans have flourished in GNP growth terms while their allies have lost arms and men in all kinds of military intervention around the world.

The war in Indo-China, for instance, cost France more than the sum total of Marshall aid it received.

In its place, she said, she supported the idea of an *Europe des patries*, or Europe of fatherlands, as advocated by General de Gaulle.

The General, who at one stage vetoed British membership of the European Community, will have turned in his grave at thus being cited in support of British independence of mind.

Mrs Thatcher can be sure of the approval of many of her fellow-countrymen in warning against too close ties between Britain and a united Europe.

All member-countries of the Euro-

pean Community feel somewhat uneasy on being expected to forgo yet more of their national sovereignty.

Yet, nowhere is this malaise more widespread than in Britain, which still likes to recall the days when it prided itself on a policy of splendid isolation.

We need go no further afield for instances of this lack of enthusiasm about European integration. It is alive and well in our own country.

In the European Community the Federal Republic has been relegated on environmental protection to the unsatisfactory

Europe's case of cart before horse

Continued from page 1

ry role of a convoy vessel capable of higher speeds but condemned to keeping pace with the slowest ship.

By no means all members of the European Community are looking forward to 1992, the single deadline for a single internal market.

The single internal market will be mainly to the benefit, and to the most substantial benefit, of large-scale industry. Whether it will be equally to the benefit of the individual can at best be said to be uncertain and a moot point.

Even in industry there are misgivings, and they cannot simply be dismissed.

The crux of these misgivings, which are shared in the ranks of all political parties, lies in the realisation that a genuine common market will make no sense as long as a common economic policy is impossible.

In other words, Europe has wrongly

Continued on page 8

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Disengagement and detente in Asia

Asia, a continent racked by war and crises, faces a time of change. New yardsticks and also new rivalries are emerging.

Economic success and diplomatic acumen seem sure to play a more important part than sheer military might in shaping the destiny of the three billion Asians, or 60 per cent of mankind.

Japan and China, the latest powers promoted to the major league, appreciated this point far sooner than the old superpowers America and Russia.

The economically-minded Chinese reduced the strength of their People's Liberation Army by over one million men without blowing the disarmament trumpet all that stridently.

Japan, as an economic world power, spends only a little over one per cent of GNP on defence, which makes it still the rear-guard of the leading industrialised countries.

Disengagement and detente are the keywords in Asia and the Pacific.

Old enemies plan to bury the hatchet and seek new ties. Conflicts that impede development, from Korea to Indo-China and from the Kurile Islands to Taiwan, are becoming easier to settle or defuse.

Yet parties to the conflicts still have plenty of ballast, accumulated over the decades, to jettison before they can expect to make any real progress.

Nowhere do they need to do so more urgently than in Korea, where about 1.3 million soldiers have faced each other across the 38th parallel since 1953.

A dozen detente moves have failed miserably, yet suddenly the idea of building a bridge between the estranged Korean cousins stands a better chance, with all the great powers involved heading in the same direction.

The Chinese and Russians, former comrades-in-arms of North Korea, are now on almost friendly terms with South Korea, which is hosting this year's Olympics.

After the Games the Americans, little though they may relish the idea, will have to take a closer look at North Korea's demand for a peace treaty.

In South Korea memories of the joint struggle against Kim Il Sung's militant communism are fading, so much so that some Koreans are wondering whether Seoul still needs the US forces stationed in South Korea.

Over much of Asia there are incontrovertible signs of a new wave of anti-Americanism fuelled by nationalist sentiment.

A comment characteristic of this current of opinion is Philippine Foreign Minister Mungopas's call: "Destroy the lord and master image of the United States!"

The Americans have undeniably failed to treat weaker countries as partners with equal rights, yet by this same token security systems would be badly shaken if the United States were to vacate its Philippine bases in a hurry.

The Americans hope that Japan, as an economic superpower with growing claims to political status, will step into the breach.

But they know that Tokyo can do no more than assume a share of responsibil-

ity for the defence of South-East Asia and of shipping routes in the region.

Even so, Japanese Defence Minister Kawara cautiously sounded out the prospects of closer military cooperation on a tour of South-East Asia this summer.

Contrary to expectations his findings were more encouraging. Traditional anti-Japanese sentiment is evidently on the decline.

The Japanese would nevertheless do their own interests and those of an unruly region the best service by exercising military restraint and limiting their contribution toward stability to training facilities and to massive economic aid.

One reason why Tokyo would do well to heed this advice is that while Japan is preparing to take on new tasks in South-East Asia and its ties with China range from satisfactory to good, its relations with the Soviet Union remain unclarified.

Both sides feel a strong need to review relations. Tokyo would like to sign a peace treaty with Moscow at long last, while the Soviet Union realises it stands to gain easier access to the forthcoming Pacific Age with Japanese support.

The Russians are thinking first and foremost in terms of gaining admission to the Asian Development Bank and of exploiting the natural resources of Siberia.

Israel, like other countries, had expected Islamic neighbours Iran and Iraq to be preoccupied with each other for a while yet.

Iraq having yielded amounted to an admission that Saddam Hussein could not be overthrown or the Baath Party be ousted from power in Baghdad.

After an official peace settlement Iraq might, or so many Israelis are afraid, revert from a position of renewed strength to its aims and interests in Palestine and Lebanon.

It would also be doing so at a time when King Hussein had changed the situation in favour of the Palestinians and is nurturing its close ties with the United States, but it has other, important aims in mind.

Peking is paying increasing attention to the four little dragons: Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea and Singapore.

These four have an uncommon advantage in connection with the modernisation of backward China. While they are no longer developing countries they are still some distance away from the advanced technology of the industrialised West and Japan.

Hong Kong's economic ties with China are growing by leaps and bounds. Trade with South Korea and Taiwan is increasing too.

This forecast holds good despite the heavy losses in manpower and industrial capacity Iraq has suffered in the Gulf War.

It remains to be seen whether economic rapprochement will influence political systems.

At all events, Peking has appealed, with increasing success, to all suitable neighbours to make their contribution toward developing the enormous Chinese market.

China's attraction is evidently irresistible.

Siegfried Kubrick

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 15 August 1988)

Continued from page 1

though the Germans may have put it to evil use in recent history.

"The problem with power," Robert F. Kennedy wrote, "is to subordinate it to responsibility and to prevent it from falling foul of unscrupulousness and self-aggrandisement."

Those who, like many Germans, see peace as the highest dictate can hardly be keener on anything other than entrusting a small part of their power with responsibility for keeping the peace.

Josef Jaffe

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 17 August 1988)

Saddam Hussein emerges from Gulf War as a regional giant

Frankfurter Allgemeine

lution to the east and within its own borders forced Baath leader Saddam Hussein to form new alliances.

Relations with rich Saudi Arabia improved at this stage, Saddam Hussein having demonstrated a degree of moderation toward Riyadh before the Gulf War began.

Little though the revolutionary nationalist regime of the Baath Party in Baghdad and the puritan rule of the Saudi family in Riyadh may have in common, the Gulf War broke the ice between them once and for all.

Even the Israelis and their efficient secret service were taken by surprise, as was evident from the worried comments made by a number of Israeli newspapers and politicians.

Israel, like other countries, had expected the Soviet Union, to have brought powerful pressure to bear on Baghdad to forgo its demand for direct talks before declaring a ceasefire.

Much the same can be said of relations between Iraq and Egypt. When the Gulf War began, President Sadat was still alive. In Iraq he was seen as the "Camp David traitor" and relations between Baghdad and Cairo were stone cold.

After Sadat's assassination on 6 October 1981 his successor, Hosni Mubarak, succeeded in gradually reintegrating Egypt in the community of Arab nations.

Relations with Iraq soon grew more friendly. Cairo supplied arms and was said at times to have sent the Iraqi pilots. There has been a steady stream of Egyptian friendship delegations to Baghdad.

Once peace terms have been agreed Israel could well come under massive pressure from these four Arab states to negotiate on a settlement of the Palestinian conflict.

Once war damage has been rectified oil-rich Iraq, which boasted a flourishing economy when the Gulf War began and even in its early days, will emerge as a leading power in the eastern Arab world, not least in view of its "victory" over Iran.

This forecast holds good despite the heavy losses in manpower and industrial capacity Iraq has suffered in the Gulf War.

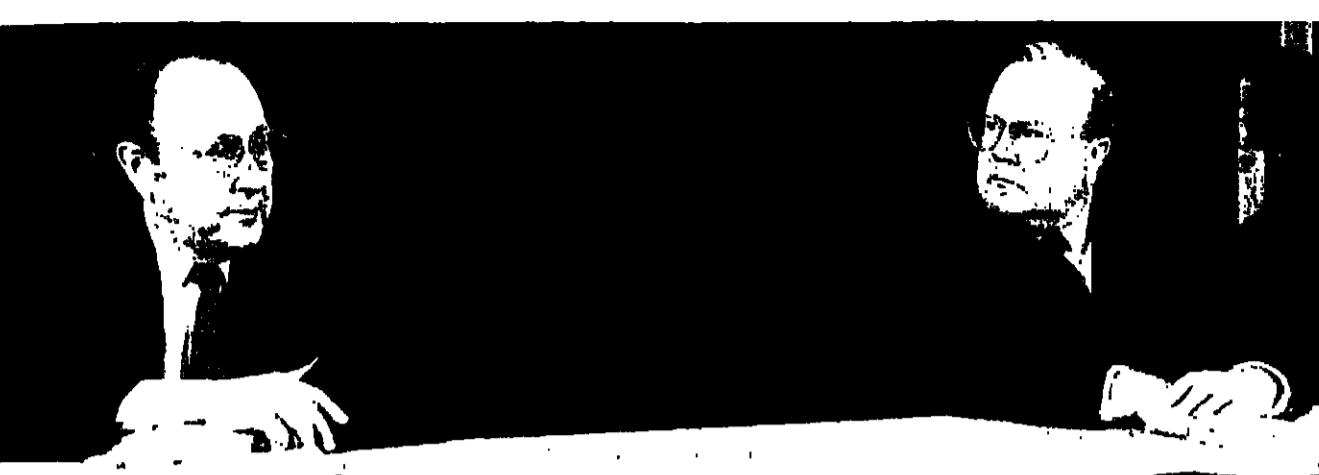
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China's attraction is evidently irresistible.

Siegfried Kubrick

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 16 August 1988)



Is Bangemann all on his own? FDP chairman Martin Bangemann (right) with former chairman Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

(Photo: Wolfgang Weber)

Genscher was no more than Gensch's puppet. If elected, therefore, Adam-Schweizer must break away from the Foreign Office and hence from the influence of her current superior there, Genscher.

As opposed to Lambsdorff, who can point towards plenty of experience as a Minister in Bonn and has rejected any desire to re-enter the Cabinet, Adam-Schweizer seems to feel that the leader of the FDP should also be a Cabinet member.

She has said this so often that it has now become a virtual commitment.

The decision-making bodies in the FDP, however, have reiterated that the party will be retaining the foreign policy, economics, justice and education portfolios for the rest of the current legislative term. The names of the Ministers were listed, but not of the Ministers.

There has never been any doubt that Genscher is to remain Foreign Minister, and that the Justice Minister should be an FDP politician from Bavaria.

The incumbent Justice Minister, Hans Engellhardt, comes from Bavaria, as does presidium member, Josef Brunner.

The North Rhine-Westphalian Jürgen Möllmann would prefer to be Minister of the Interior rather than Education Minister, although if the FDP retains the Education portfolio Möllmann will probably retain this post.

The Schamburg Kreis, a powerful faction in the FDP's parliamentary party in the Bundestag, would fight against any attempt to oust Möllmann from the Cabinet in favour of Adam-Schweizer. This leaves the Economics portfolio.

Lambsdorff has announced that he will recommend the party's current general secretary, Helmut Haussmann, for the job of future Economics Minister. Adam-Schweizer for her part has said that Haussmann remains "the first choice" — a statement which leaves open other possibilities.

She refrained from hinting at any kind of firm commitment.

The FDP's national executive to be elected at the October party congress will make the final decision on the which formation and which Ministers will line up for the general election campaign. Adam-Schweizer apparently wants to keep the question of who is to succeed Bangemann as Economics Minister open as long as possible — just in case.

Genscher has already made it clear that, if elected party chairwoman, Adam-Schweizer would not be able to remain Minister of State in the Foreign Office he heads.

He regards such a construction as legally and politically impossible.

Yet another contradiction: Adam-Schweizer is just as keen on moving away from Genscher's influence as Genscher is on retaining his ability to pull the strings of party power.

She has to stick to her own guiding principle of refusing to talk about the allocation of Cabinet posts before the final decision has been taken, but has set the FDP general secretary Haussmann and part of the Baden-Württemberg section of the FDP against herself by talking about the possibility of becoming Economics Minister instead of Haussmann.

Questions concerning ministerial skills are also being raised. Lambsdorff has called for a clarification of the situation as soon as possible.

Chancellor Kohl looks on to see what in the coalition's junior partner,

Claus Gennrich

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 August 1988)

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for the FDP

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■ EUROPE

Now the jockeying begins for portfolios in the new Brussels Commission

Jostling for portfolios in the next European Commission is already in full swing.

The decision on the allocation of posts is due on 5 January, 1989, and most observers expect a night of the long knives.

The meeting will be chaired by the president of the European Commission, Jacques Delors, whose presidential term was extended by two years (until the end of 1990) during the June summit meeting of the European Council in Hanover.

Apart from Delors there are 16 other Commission members.

Delors, a former Economics and Finance Minister, is known to be keen on retaining responsibility for the Community's monetary policy.

There are plenty of contenders for the other portfolios.

According to the Treaty of Rome the European Commission has sole responsibility for the allocation of portfolios — without the influence of respective governments, which appoint Commission members "by agreement" but are not allowed to lay down stipulations or issue directives for the performance of their duties.

What is more, the Commissioners are also not allowed to heed such directives. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the governments of Community member states have a considerable say in the course of

Bremer Nachrichten

action taken by individual Commission members.

Apart from Delors, Adressen ranks as the "strong man" of the current European Commission, whose four-year term runs out at the end of the year.

Many Eurocrats in Brussels would have liked to have seen an extension of the term of office of the British Commissioner responsible for internal market policy, Lord Francis Arthur Cockfield, up until the completion of the planned internal market in 1992/1993.

The fact that the still very nimble-minded 71-year-old lord was recalled by the British Prime Minister is interpreted as an indication of the fact that Lord Cockfield had become "too European" in his insistence for concrete steps forward in Europe and criticised the behaviour of the British government too often and too clearly.

The current office-bearer, the former Belgian Finance Minister Willy de Clercq, has to step down because of domestic policy pressures in Belgium. He will probably be replaced as Community Commissioner by the Flemish Socialist Karel van Miert.

However, Dutchman Frans Andriess-

en is also known to be keen on the external relations portfolio. As a former Dutch Finance Minister he also has many points in his favour.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl, however, has repeatedly emphasised, and German industry keeps on hoping, that in the end the Community's internal market will pay off for the Germans.

Europe is certainly already paying off for the 81 German members of the European Parliament. And not just for the German members.

The Euro-MPs from the other member states also reap the benefits of the high salaries paid in Brussels, despite the disparity in income levels for parliamentarians in the more prosperous European countries and their poorer cousins elsewhere.

The demand forwarded by Euro-Socialist Horst Seefeld, however, for "equal pay for equal work" hardly stands a chance of being accepted. No one wants harmonisation down to an income mean.

Furthermore, British Euro-MPs dare not risk bringing home more pay than their parliamentary colleagues in London.

It is difficult to find out exactly how much a member of the European parliament earns.

Although it is not an item of classified information the level of remuneration is dealt with very confidentially.

According to the official regulations, the 518 Euro-MPs receive the same basic monthly salary as their parliamentary colleagues back home.

The fact that London has also recalled Britain's second Commissioner, Labour politician Stanley Clinton Davis, who established a good reputation as Transport and Environment Commissioner, also came as a surprise to the other Community governments.

Many Community experts now suspect that the appointment of her "protégé" and "confidant", 49-year-old Leon Brittan, as Community Commissioner instead of Lord Cockfield means that "Maggie" wants someone to act as a "brake block" in Brussels.

It is still not clear which portfolio

London and Leon Brittan himself actually wants.

Brittan, who resigned as head of the Department of Trade and Industry in January 1986 after assuming the political responsibility for the Westland affair, ranks as one of the pioneer and convinced pro-Europeans in the conservative camp.

This explains why many British Eurocrats in Brussels find it difficult to believe that he is supposed to exert a retardant influence in the Belgian capital.

The Greeks, who chair the Community during the second half of 1988, have come up with a positive surprise — some people say "surprise".

By nominating the 43-year-old socialist politician Vassilis Papandreou (not related to the Prime Minister of the same name but a long-standing member of the government and co-founder of the Pasok Party) Athens will be sending a first-class economist expert to Brussels.

Allowances and expenses are tax-free. As in most member countries, the Euro-MPs travel free of charge on public transport.

There are, however, tremendous differences in the basic salary levels.

The 81 Italian Euro-MPs, for example, top the salary charts with a monthly income of DM12,128, many times higher than the monthly earnings of the tailenders from Portugal (DM1,616).

French Euro-MPs take second place (DM10,213) and the German members of the European Parliament earn a basic salary of about DM8,760 (third place in the salary-ranking).

The differences are extreme, but difficult to quantify exactly due to the var-

Euro-MP's pay: some more and some less

The path towards greater cooperation in Europe is initially a costly affair. Ask Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg.

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In eight years of relentless bloodshed the Gulf War has cost 1.5 million lives and an estimated \$27bn in arms sold to Iran and Iraq alone, says the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (Sipri).

This figure does not include the cost of enormous quantities of small arms, ammunition and parts bought by the two belligerents.

Over this period their military expenditure is estimated by Sipri to have totalled between \$168.5bn and \$203.6bn.

Their foremost suppliers, Sipri says, were the United States, which exported \$9.2bn, France, \$6.1bn, Britain, \$2.3bn, and the Federal Republic of Germany, \$900m.

These figures were announced when the 1988 Sipri yearbook was published.

According to the material compiled by the Stockholm institute, which probably has the best data bank there is on the international arms trade, Iraq has bought about \$24bn worth of military hardware in the past eight years, with the Soviet Union (\$11.5bn) and France (\$6.8bn) its main suppliers.

The Khomeini regime is said by Sipri research scientists to have set greater store by "labour-intensive war technology." It bought arms worth about \$3bn, mainly from China, which supplied 53 per cent, followed by North Korea, with seven per cent.

China supplied both belligerents with aircraft (MiG 19 and MiG 21 fighter-bombers), tanks, field guns and missiles.

Other countries that for political rea-

PERSPECTIVE

Peace institute reveals the price of Gulf War — in lives and dollars

Marshal Akhromeyev, chief of the Soviet general staff, has for instance been invited to deliver the second Olof Palme Memorial Lecture at the end of September.

This change of direction is also reflected in new research projects, one of which deals with whether international security might be conceivable without nuclear weapons.

That is a question Sipri would, in the past, have been most unlikely to ask in this manner.

Another project, headed by Li-Gen Wuchter, latterly head of the Bundeswehr's Army Office, is dealing with the stability of conventional forces in Europe and looking into possibilities of "non-provocative" defence.

International arms trade studies have traditionally been a Sipri research specialty.

In a further project the hypothetical question asked is what political, military and economic consequences a US withdrawal from Europe might have.

The 1988 yearbook, which continues despite the many other publications to be Sipri's "flagship," similarly testifies to the reactivation.

It is more clearly arranged, subdivided into four main sections: arms and technology, military expenditure and arms trade, developments in arms control and special contributions.

Its value to the user has been considerably enhanced by the way in which information has been compiled and evaluated.

A keynote of the 1988 yearbook, which deals mainly with developments in 1987, is the signing by America and Russia of the INF Treaty on the scrapping of medi-

um- and short-range nuclear missiles, which rates a separate entry that includes the full treaty text.

Other contributions outline, in detail and in commentary, the course of strategic arms negotiations and the various difficulties besetting future talks on a stable conventional balance in Europe.

In the introduction Herr Stützle rates the INF Treaty a major political event but a fairly minor one in military terms.

Mr Gorbachov, he writes, was able to rectify to great political effect and at low cost a "grave mistake" made by Brezhnev and Gromyko.

They both misjudged the consequences of the Soviet striving for strategic parity with the United States and for nuclear superiority in Europe.

Herr Stützle circumspectly wonders whether the new political climate of East-West relations will lead to further progress in disarmament.

He mentions the many difficulties that remain to be solved in the proposed negotiations on conventional forces.

The Western alliance, he notes, is "built round an ocean," whereas the Warsaw Pact is an alliance of land powers, with the result that interests are partly at odds within the two pacts.

As long as agreement has yet to be reached on a mandate for conventional disarmament negotiations a Start treaty will not be signed and differences in interpretation of the ABM Treaty will persist.

So despite the many hopeful signs it remains doubtful whether a new era of disarmament talks has really dawned in which arms will be genuinely reduced and not merely thinned out.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 18 August 1988)

the Federal Republic of Germany. Conversely, the North Atlantic pact not only provided protection from imperial invasions; it also established the leeway within which economic power and technological creativity were able to come into their own.

When the coat-tail of history swished the Germans quick to catch hold of it, with the result that today's international economic system would be inconceivable without them.

Sensitive souls may feel it is unfeeling to suggest that the Federal Republic of Germany's rise to (economic) world power status would not have been possible without the Cold War, which began in 1947 and is now, over 40 years later, past history apart, that is, from residual fortifications from end to end of Germany.

Is war, and be it Cold War, the heart of the matter after all?

The 1948 deutschmark currency reform and its implementation in Berlin nearly triggered a hot war between East and West. It took US resolution to avert a full-scale clash.

Were it not for this American determination the economic reform of Western Europe, from Marshall aid to the European Community, would not have made headway.

Western Europe would, instead, have felt itself to be a mere appendage of the Eurasian land-mass, and not just geographically.

It would have stayed where it was and been captured by others. This is a point people today fail sufficiently to appreciate.

The Cold War was not invented by the West; it was a challenge the West chose to take up. It led to the establishment of NATO, which could not have survived without

Patent diplomatic work aimed at eliminating this division and, into the bargain, restoring national unity is one of the political regulatory tasks facing Germans who have come into their own in more ways than one.

This work is called for in the North Atlantic pact, in the European Community and in relations with the East.

Political order is a peacetime target, but not one that can necessarily be achieved without risk, as the course of 43 years of peace in Europe has shown.

Heribert Krempp

■ FINANCE

Making money pay its way in overseas investments

Not so long ago there was a great outcry about Americans supposedly buying up German industry.

American executives, supported by the strong American dollar, were going round with thick cheques and buying up whatever they could — plant, shareholdings and entire firms.

This has now changed. America, once the greatest creditor nation, has become the biggest debtor nation in the world.

The fact is that direct German investment abroad has exceeded foreign investment in Germany for a long time. The export of capital has now exceeded all previous levels.

In the first half of this year alone, 70 billion marks went overseas. How much of a role does affluence play?

Incomes are increasing but profits are increasing more sharply. And the cost of living has remained stable — in the case of food, it has even dropped.

This price stability is partly the reason why, at the end of the month, there is cash left over from pay packets.

So it is not surprising that Germans, always keen savers, have piled up 2,400 billion marks in cash savings. This is quite apart from investment in such things as property.

It is estimated that 80 per cent of this cash is earning interest somewhere. This means it is increasing by about 100 billion marks a year.

Where does the money go? Compared with earning possibilities abroad, interest rates on German capital market and yields on investment in Germany are not high. So, is it better to go abroad with the cash? Many people and firms think so.

It is certainly a gross exaggeration to talk of a flight of capital stimulated for instance by the discussion over the planned withholding tax (under which the practice of taxing interest on savings, ignored for years by convention, is to be enforced through a tax at source — for example, at banks).

There are, of course, always people who want to invest abroad, away from the tax man, for shadyl reasons.

Equally, it is certain that many international investors who have had their money for years in Germany are now making a lot of money by selling — the mark is not likely to be revalued upwards, so the chances of an easy killing in the foreseeable future no longer exist.

German investors know that involve-

ment abroad will pay off because of the rising dollar.

IDW (Institut der Deutschen Wirtschaft) economic institute whose views are usually similar to employers organisations, says that investors would sooner invest in "foreign" capital goods than in local machinery or plant.

The reverse of this is the German reluctance to invest. Cash that moves abroad is no longer available for investment at home in, say, plant and machinery.

In view of the liberalisation of financial markets, it is impossible to halt the export of capital. So investment at home must be made to appear more rewarding and the difference between German and foreign interests rates reduced.

But there can be no question of halting the capital outflow in the foreseeable future. German financial institutions have adjusted to this trend and are urgently building up their advisory services for shares (that earn a lot of commission) and investments. Even small banks boast about their round-the-clock contacts with international money markets.

All institutions, particularly savings banks and ordinary banks, which have a lot of catching up to do, have recognised that financial houses that do not offer their customers a comprehensive investment service will soon be out of the running.

Josef Roth
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger,
Cologne, 16 August 1988)

Continued from page 1
embarked on the superb and historically indispensable process of integration by putting the cart before the horse.

The primacy of politics has been neglected for the sake of economics.

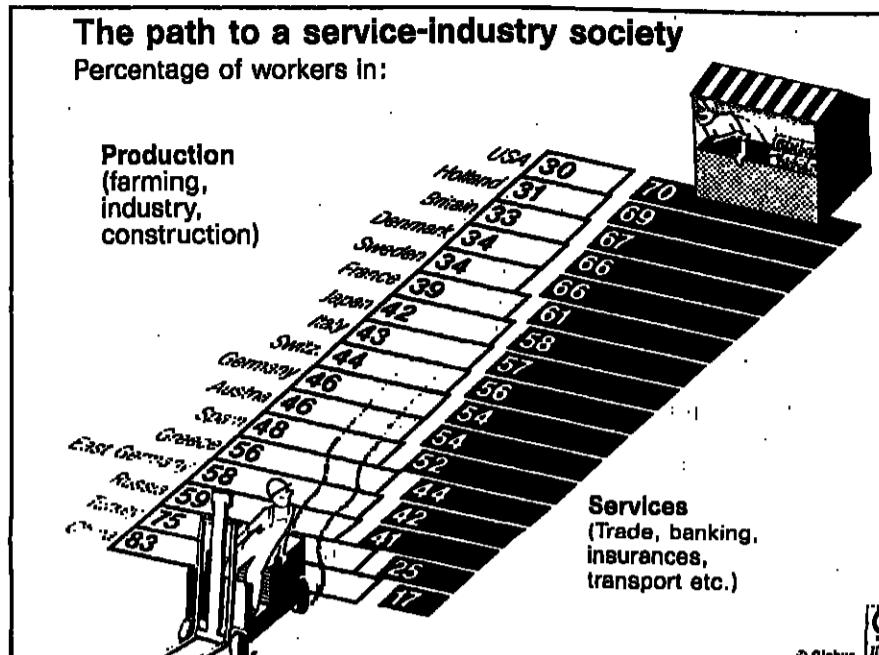
It is doubtful whether this mistake, made at the outset of bids to foster European cooperation, can now be rectified.

Not infrequently and not inaccurately, so-called good Europeans accuse the common market and the officials that run it from Brussels of doing less to unify Europe than to make it more uniform, to the detriment of the variety that makes Europe what it is.

There are only two ways of ending this unsatisfactory and dangerous state of affairs, and one of them is now probably no more than a theoretical possibility.

Reversion to full nation-state independence is ruled out. Not even Great Britain

can afford to do that.



Service industries are setting the pace, says report

Service industries are the most important contributors to economic growth.

In its monthly report the Bundesbank says that this sector is the only sector that is creating new jobs to any noticeable extent.

The bank's investigations reveal that service industries have created 740,000 extra jobs over the past four years, while in agriculture and manufacturing industries there has been a drop in the number employed.

There are 25.8 million working people

available to take up this option, as the EEC referendum showed some years ago.

The other way of arguably ending the widespread dissatisfaction with Europe is the one Mrs Thatcher so fights shy of: settling up a United States of Europe and a central government with limited but clear responsibilities mainly for foreign policy, defence and the economy.

In all other respects member-countries must retain and develop a maximum of separate identity under its own aegis, thus being the only way to ensure that Europe remains European.

More jobs could have been created, according to the bank, but this was hindered by shop-closing hours, restrictive regulations governing insurance, rigid rules applied to the transportation of goods and merchandise and the Federal Postal Service's monopoly on telephone communications.

The service industries sector has

Continued on page 13

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■ THE TRADE UNIONS

Chemical workers preparing to throw several cats among the pigeons

The chemical workers' union, IG Chemie, is likely to cause heated debate within the union movement at its conference next month when its general secretary, Hermann Rappe, outlines a policy of cooperation with the employers instead of confrontation. Herr

Rappe plans to say that European problems can only be solved by cooperation between both sides of industry and not by confrontation. Germany would need to remain an attractive industrial location if jobs are to remain safe. He plans to say that although regulations are im-

portant, the issue of the costs a company can stand must be considered. And "the idea of Germany as a research country which manufactures overseas is not in our interest," Ernst Günter Vetter reports for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.

ene that European problems can only be solved by cooperation between both sides of industry and will defy solution on a basis of confrontation.

IG Chemie feels Germany must remain an attractive industrial location if job security is to be maintained.

So the union advocates abiding by basic rules of environmental protection. The state, as a conference resolution to be presented by the national executive puts it, has a duty to establish a framework and support for entrepreneurial environmental protection.

Herr Rappe will make a short speech outlining the union's ideas on policy for the industry, with special emphasis on Europe.

IG Chemie aims to stake its claim to hold competent views on European policy and to demonstrate that union policy is geared to economic facts.

It's leaders feel they should express views and show signs of acting on these issues. Environmental problems are a tricky issue, especially for the chemicals industry, and special difficulties seem sure to arise in harmonising social policy in the European Community.

Herr Rappe plans to tell the confer-



Cooperation instead of confrontation... Hermann Rappe. (Photo: Werk)

change of role will make it much more attractive to people employed in the chemicals industry.

Half of them, as Herr Rappe says, are already white-collar workers, and their number will steadily increase. He says: "They are people who prefer a level-headed and objective approach."

He feels they can raise no more than a wan smile when faced by firebrand agitators. That is why he plans to cast IG Chemie in the role of a modern trade union no longer class struggle-oriented.

He aims to make the union more attractive, especially for the growing numbers of salaried staff.

There can be no ruling out the possibility that this demonstrative proclamation of trade union policy based on cooperation with the employers will trigger heated debate in the DGB.

But Hermann Rappe has the political stature he may need to withstand what can often be aggressive attacks by left-wingers in the union movement.

He is a leading member of the Social Democratic Party (SPD), a member of the Bundestag and a so-called right-winger in the parliamentary party.

His policy of social partnership, particularly designed to appeal to professionally qualified employees, is aimed at a group of voters wooed by both the leading political parties.

The strength of his position within the SPD can be assessed in terms of the dispute with Saar Premier Oskar Lafontaine over shorter working hours.

Herr Lafontaine may to some extent have had economic logic on his side in the debate, but Herr Rappe persuaded the party to support the unions rather than Herr Lafontaine, arguing that the trade unions' reputation stood to derive anything but benefit from attacks from all quarters, SPD ranks.

On occasion trade union leaders have been known to point out that not long ago Herr Lafontaine took part in anti-nuclear protest marches alongside the Greens, called on the unions to stage political strikes against the stationing of nuclear missiles in Germany and advocated further industrial action unrelated to wage or welfare policy requirements.

Differences of opinion between Herr Lafontaine and the trade unions had thus prevailed on other grounds too.

Herr Rappe is well aware that too close ties between the trade union confederation and the Social Democratic Party would be inadmissible.

He appreciates the significance of the single, non-partisan, industrial union and would on no account want to see it diluted in any way.

Ernst Günter Vetter
(*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*)
for Deutschland, 4 August 1988

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■ CALF-FATTENING SCANDAL

Poisoned meat provokes consumer boycott; thousands of tortured animals destroyed

Sales of veal and beef — and baby foods which contain either — have almost stopped because of calf doping. More than 4,000 calves which have been dosed with hormones, mainly oestrogen, have been destroyed and many thousands more will be. Freeing them to graze would only condemn them to a painful death because of their forced diet of milk from birth. Oestrogen, used as a fattening agent, is a hormone which can cause many illnesses in humans, including cancer.

The fattening method — feeding plus hormone injections — is brutally simple, cruel and efficient. According to one description, calves are taken from their mothers after eight days and put in cowsheds where they are kept in tiny, dark cubicles where they can barely move. They are fed on thin milk which often causes diarrhoea. They are given medicine to dry them out. To keep them alive, they are connected to an intravenous drip, just like in an intensive-care ward. Without exercise, the animals grow larger and want more food, but they don't get any. Instead, the concentration of nutrients in the drip is increased. Then the calves are put on to a type of pudding-like food and, because they get nothing to drink, try to shake their thirst by eating more and more of it. This causes diarrhoea again, and intensely the thirst-inducing process, the pudding is heated to 38 degrees celsius (about 100 degrees Fahrenheit). This makes them sweat and they begin to itch. They lick their skin in desperate efforts to stop the itch and tear the hair out with their tongues. The hair goes into their stomachs, rots and produces poison. Because veal must be light coloured, the pudding contains little iron. The animals become anaemic, develop respiratory troubles and their circulation fails. Medicine again must be used to keep them alive until slaughter. One farmer called Felix Hlying has been arrested, but a psychiatrist report says he is unfit to be held. Another, Bernhard Wiggner, 55, is under investigation. Hlying is said to have used a system of subcontracting out massive numbers of animals to farmers. So far, 14,000 head belonging to him have been confiscated. Here, Christian Schütze reports for the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and a vet, Dr Angela Sattler, for the *Frankfurter Rundschau*.

It comprises operators of animal factories, veterinary surgeons, drug company representatives, feed suppliers and sundry other professionals.

Reports from Münsterland, the region around Münster, have a dramatic sound to them: 14,000 calves were confiscated after it was found that they had had their ear-markings removed, had been injected with hormones and had been smuggled into abattoirs.

Police are watching the 49 cowsheds of a calf-battery operator called Felix Hlying. They are keeping count of the calves and making sure that the animals are being properly fed.

That is important: now that the gang can no longer use the animals to satisfy their greed — and not being people who are sentimental about animals — there is no telling what might happen.

Although this scandal is turning out to be the most sensational of its kind, it is nothing like unique. Its sheer "criminal energy," as Matthiesen put it, makes it different.

As always there is a lack of scientific information about the harmful effects on humans, humans and so questionable preparations and methods are used.

The list of offences is long, memory is short. Some of the more striking cases should be recalled.

At the beginning of the 1980s oestrogen was found in veal in several European countries. Several calf battery operators were given mild sentences.

In 1983 calves in Berlin were found to have been given trenbolone; 14,000 calves were confiscated from 57

A case where 14,000 calves are fattened up by hormone treatment — this is no isolated case, say people who know about battery farming.

They draw comparisons with drug-trafficking and believe similar detection methods should be used.

What is going on can be seen with the naked eye. A handful of organisations produce 90 per cent of German veal in calf battery operations.

They provide both the calves and the feed. The farmer provides the stalls, cleans out the liquid manure and looks after the animals.

When the calves are ready for slaughter, they are picked up and the farmer is paid.

Depending on whether he has had to have the stalls built or whether the operator transports away from the farm the liquid manure, the farmer gets DM180 per calf during two fattening-up periods per year.

At the abattoir the calves are worth between DM1,200 to DM1,400 each.

It is worthwhile for the operator to use hormones. Calves increase in size twice as fast per day as animals that are fed in a normal way, and they need 20 per cent less feed.

A small laboratory is given the order to prepare the hormone cocktail — it would be more appropriate to call the laboratory a wash-house.

The basics are prepared abroad. The

cowsheds in 1985 because they had an hormone capsule implanted behind the ear.

It was found that 12,000 had been treated in this way in Lower Saxony. The stock had been treated with the killer hormone "medroxi-progesteron acetate," used in medicine to bring on miscarriages in women.

In 1986 Bavarian veterinary surgeons were ringing the alarm bells. The illegal use of hormones in animal feed was common in Bavaria too.

In 1984 and 1985 the Bavarian authorities had repeatedly stated that Bavarian meat was clean.

Through a trick 132 confiscated calves were stolen from an official cold store and sold into the retail trade in 1986. And so on.

Under German pressure, the 12 EC member-states approved guidelines that from 1 January this year banned artificial and natural growth hormones in animal feed.

The unsuspecting housewife brought up on the myth that veal is the best there is, buys it. The hormone cocktail does not smell.

Producers fear huge losses because of the behaviour of the few. The butchers organisation warns against lumping all breeders together because of one individual. This was the line taken by Bavarian Agriculture Minister Simon Nüssel.

A single one? Let us just wait a little and follow the work of the Münsterland public prosecutor's office with close attention.

In any case, this huge crime against both consumer and animal demands more state controls and also that some valid lessons be drawn.

Christian Schütze (Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 12 August 1988)

But the matter does have its bright side. It has curbed the desire to eat

Double normal growth rate with only 80 per cent of the feed

hormones are distributed like drugs. The network is built up like a spider's web. The producer sits at the centre, around him the wholesalers, retailers and finally the hormone users.

As in drug-trafficking, only the small fry are caught. But there is a difference from the drug scene: the drug-user knows what he is consuming; the veal consumer does not.

There is no great risk of being caught. The cost of hormone detection apparatus is high. A small change in the combination is enough to puzzle a laboratory. The latest cases show how little hormone users fear discovery — the cocktail in the latest scandal is identical with the one in a scandal in Münster early this year.

This got the farmers raising calves in Bavaria off the hook. It was assumed that the hormones found in the veal came from milk powder and the investigation by police vets was called off.

Veterinary officials, who are well aware of the criminal energy of the calf battery operators, believe nevertheless that the case could be explained quite differently.

The German calf battery operators could themselves have "enriched" the milk powder and they passed the buck to the authorities in order to deflect suspicion away from themselves — and with success for they were exonerated.

These battery operators are well

known to veterinary service officials, of course. It is their view that Felix Hlying was a kind of managing director — there is another person involved but this cannot be proved.

The mills of officialdom turn slowly, not only when it is a matter of using hormones but in the use of illegal substances generally.

What usually happens is: calves with suspected injection pricks, or other signs of the use of prohibited substances, are discovered in the abattoir. The animals are held and the owner notified.

It takes about a week to get test results and probably another week before the authorities receive the findings and visit the operator. Time enough to get rid of the evidence.

Experienced vets say that without a change in the way of handling cases, no progress will be made in hitting the problem.

It is too late to wait for suspected animals to turn up at the abattoir or to look for injection capsules on a farm after a tip-off. They have been disposed of or destroyed long before.

Lower Saxony is the only state where there has been any success. The official vets are supported by specialist criminal squads. They can surprise feed operators concerned as they conceal the cases full of injection capsules under the trees.

Continued on page 15

■ RESEARCH

Chromodynamics of quarks and other heavenly tales



Quarks and leptons

Even smaller particles known as quarks, the elementary material of which atomic nuclei are made.

The aim of the Munich conference was to outline the state of research and to discuss the wide-ranging opportunities for further development.

Elementary particle physics has made substantial headway over the past decade. All forces observed in nature, gravity excepted, can now be explained in terms of what is known as the standard model.

This (theoretical) model includes the powerful forces within atomic nuclei that hold them together and the less powerful forces that cause radioactivity.

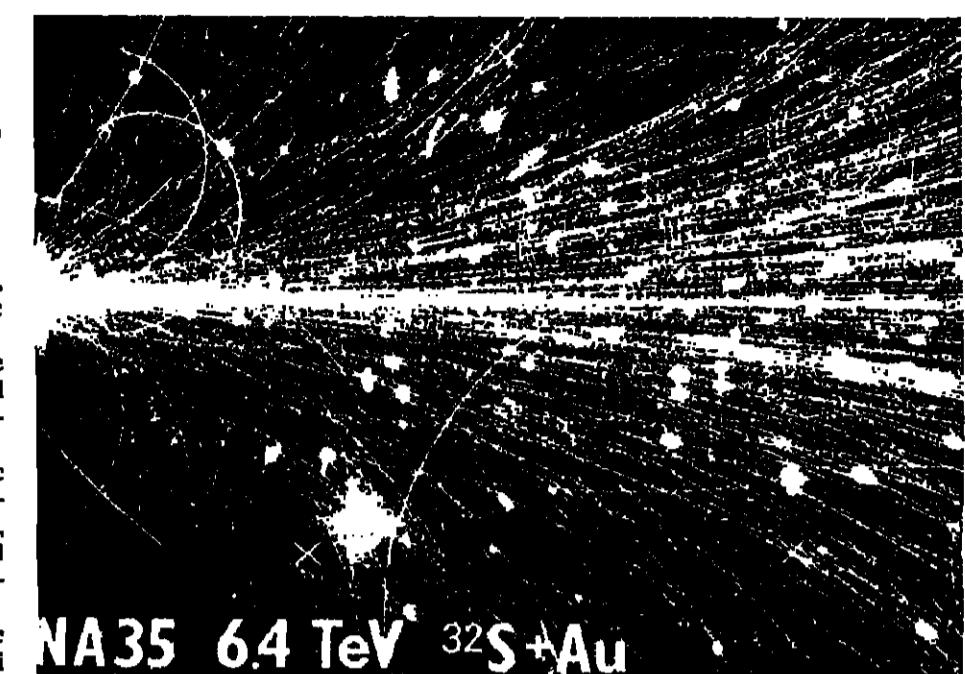
Matter is said to consist of electrons and other, related particles known as leptons (including neutrinos), and of quarks.

They interact, with quarks being caused by the exchange of special, powerful particles, photons in the case of electric power.

A focal point of the Munich conference was the reports made by a number of groups of research scientists on experiments dealing with the chromodynamics of quarks.

This theory has been found not only to account for the structure of nuclear particles but also to explain details of particle collisions.

They are now known to consist of



NA35 6.4 TeV 32S+Au

Particle-acceleration experiment creating conditions similar to those just after the Big Bang.

(Photo: MPG)

ores near Chicago and at CERN near Geneva.

Research reports by theoretical physicists concerned with speculation on the physical inter-relationship of elementary particles at energies much higher than have so far been reached were no less interesting.

They feel that a link between the present particle theory and the theory of gravitation laid down by Einstein early this century can only be established with reference to new, so-called super-symmetries.

The building blocks of matter, physicists go on to speculate, may not be punctiform particles but one-dimensional thread-shaped objects known as superstrings.

Other theorists imagine that leptons and quarks may consist of still smaller parts the existence of which could be demonstrated at the Lep and Hera particle accelerators under construction at CERN and DESY respectively.

The theory of chromodynamics forecasts the existence of this state of matter, albeit only at very high temperatures or under very high pressure.

According to the Big Bang theory of the origin of the Universe matter was in a state of chromoplasma immediately after the Big Bang.

It may also exist in the core of very large celestial bodies.

The findings of experiments undertaken at CERN indicate that a transitional state prior to chromoplasma may have been reached, but they are not yet conclusive.

Reports on the discovery of particles being converted into anti-particles at DESY in Hamburg and the Cornell Laboratory in the United States also triggered keen interest.

They were seen in connection with a re-discovery at CERN, where scientists noted deviation from CP symmetry (C standing for charge and P for parity).

The mathematical inter-relationships of today's Universe, including natural laws as now observed, are felt not always to have been valid.

They are surprised to have taken shape, after an extremely tempestuous and dynamic development, shortly after the Big Bang and an extremely chaotic state of affairs.

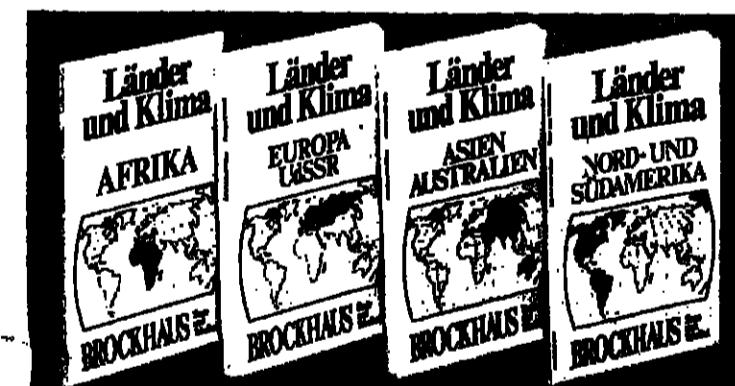
This not only confirmed a theoretical forecast of the uniform theory of electrical and weak forces; the slight deviation in CP symmetry observed at CERN may, it is felt, partly account for the existence of matter in space.

Were it not for this deviation from symmetry equal amounts of matter and anti-matter would be expected in space, and experience has shown this not to be the case.

Harald Fritzsch

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 11 August 1988)

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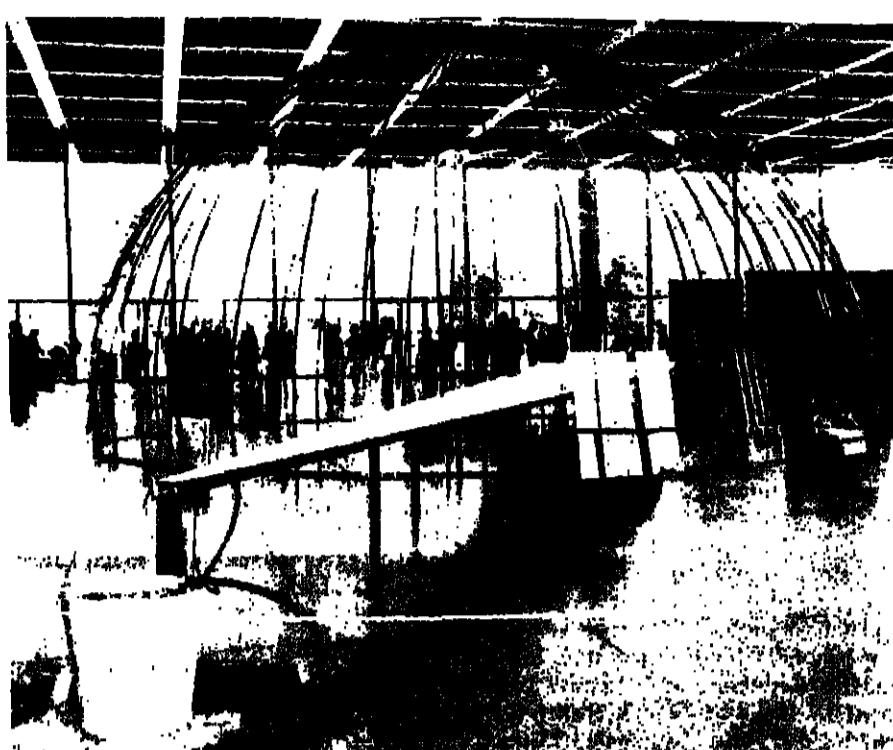
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Look it up in Brockhaus



Culture 24 hours a day in Berlin: left, a Richard Serra exhibit at the Hamburger Bahnhof; Mario Merz's big igloo at the Nationalgalerie. (Photo: Binder/Thiele)



■ EXHIBITIONS

The ghosts of a bygone concourse hurry past a present which is timeless

Two exhibitions in West Berlin appear to complement each other in their approach, yet all sides maintain that there has been no cooperation. *Zeitlos* (*Timeless*) is housed in a disused railway station, Hamburger Bahnhof, with its faded ghosts of pre-war Berlin; the other is called *Positionen heutiger Kunst* (*The State of Contemporary Art*) in the Neue Nationalgalerie. Werner Rhode wrote the story for the *Frankfurter Rundschau*.

Berlin is an extremely ambitious cultural city, but the fancy title "Cultural City of Europe" is only something extra for 1988.

There is culture 24-hours-a-day, most of it an international mix, some of it official and chic; some of it from the fringe.

He said: "Both exhibitions belong to one another." That is irrefutably plausible. That is perhaps more accurate in a sense than Hessemer thinks.

For both exhibition directors have refused to comply with the motto for Berlin's year as Europe's cultural city, "Berlin — City of Things New," for their own reasons.

It was as if Berlin had at last overcome the trauma of the 1982 exhibition *Spiral of the Times*.
Szeemann and Honisch have given over their exhibition rooms to art that has long been valued, long available. They both look back into the 1960s and 1970s.

These exhibitions in Berlin offer for inspection something of art history together with the history of sculpture. Both have generously decided to display what is good and expensive.

Internationally well-known artists have been in Berlin for weeks fitting their works of art into the ambience of the display rooms.

It has been said that there was no arrangement between the organisers. Each wanted to develop his own ideas independently.

It is purely accidental then that the sculptor Richard Serra, who works in steel and is admired on all sides, is represented in both exhibitions; that Cy

Twombly is represented in the Nationalgalerie as a confident painter, with a collection of his early, grey pictures, and in the Hamburger Bahnhof as a sculptor (which he has been since 1955), with an ensemble of waste-wood sculptures painted white, that look to some extent ironic on their pedestals.

Also Mario Merz, the master of *Ara novae*, so rich in variation, appears twice as well; with a monumental igloo in the upper hall of the Nationalgalerie (a gripping contrast to the architecture of Mies van der Rohe) and a miniature igloo in the Hamburger Bahnhof show.

The Nationalgalerie is currently home simultaneously for "only" six one-man shows; apart from Merz, Serra, Twombly, there is the Greek from Rome, Jannis Kounellis, and the Korean Nam June Paik, who lives in New York and Düsseldorf, a music-fluxus video artist.

Kounellis produces massive, mysterious works for the wall, made of steel plates, iron, sacking, sewing machines and flaming gun cartridges, that awaken historical-mythical associations.

Nam June Paik introduced his "Family of the Robot," a magnificent group of anthropomorphic assemblages made of

Frankfurter Rundschau

The display includes his comment: "Television has for a long time attacked our lives — now we are hitting back."

Is this then vicious social and media criticism? No, this shimmering family is nothing more than comical, temperate, ironic fooling about.

The *Positionen heutiger Kunst* exhibition, with its contemporary aspect going back a few decades, extensively caters for visitors who want to fill in the visual gaps. But it is not so startling that one can easily forget what it has displaced.

Dieter Honisch had to make room for the summit meeting of his chosen "Mover and Shaker" artists, as he calls them. The Nationalgalerie's prime collection, that is well worth seeing, has been reduced to a rump display and it is currently closed, "due to re-building."

In fact a new carpet is being laid. In the American Room there, of all places, which usually attracts admirers of rational-meditative painting coloured sectionally, works by Frank Stella from the late 1980s let off steam.

It is well known that Stella, a strong

as well as brilliant pioneer of "Shaped Curves" art is an artist with an effervescent enthusiasm for change; but it is astonishing to hear that he claims Caravaggio as one of his progenitors, letting his enthusiasm for neo-baroque explode in a brutal motley of wall reliefs.

Continued on page 11

a variety of electronic, perpetual burners.

The particular attraction here is the assemblage of these works together, and particularly their being on display in this splendid one-time station concourse as well as in the side rooms and the stretches of fallow room-space.

It is worth visiting these rooms for they include works by Daniel Buren, Ulrich Rückriem and Inge Mahn for instance, and it is interesting to see how they have used the realities of space there.

And one should not forget the two sole paintings of this four-dimensional exhibition, two "white" oil paintings by the American Robert Ryman, of "art concrete" fame, hung in a bright transom.

It is a late consequence of the "Spiral of the Times" exhibition of 1982, that Szeemann has decked out this "powerful demonstration, even manifestation of silence," which he himself enthuses.

Werner Rhode

Continued on page 11

■ FRANKFURT BOOK FAIR

Umberto Eco sets trend: Italian authors hauled on to the German bandwagon

The special theme of this year's Frankfurt Book Fair is to be Italian literature; 33 Italian writers are expected to attend.

Most German fiction and poetry publishers have Italian titles in their lists. We can look forward both to discovering new authors and encountering familiar ones.

Yet only a few years ago, few publishing houses were prepared to give Italian literature any kind of a chance. It was too risky.

Even novels by as well-known an author as Alberto Moravia were selling an average of just 3,000 copies each. Books by Leonardo Sciascia, who sells well today, were unsuccessful.

There are so few novels published in this country that one can be forgiven for looking elsewhere.

Unlike other literary fads there is a steadfast core of public interest in the Federal Republic for Italian literature.

This core is recruited less from the educated classes, who know Alessandro Manzoni and perhaps Pirandello, than from those circles, which in the 1950s, when they were young readers, were looking for a figure with whom to identify and anti-heroes against the optimism of the previous generation of the post-war reconstruction era.

But all market forecasters were quickly upset in 1982 when Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose* appeared in German.

Almost three million copies of this crime novel set in a Benedictine monastery in medieval times have been sold.

This set the trend. Others followed:

Ilu Calvino, Antonio Tabucchi and Andre De Carlo have become well-known in Germany.

So, how important are these authors who are now getting this praise? The question is being asked: "How many significant Italian novelists of the 20th century are there in fact?"

To get some idea of a particular author, one has to look through the book lists of several publishers.

The publication of works by Pier Paolo Pasolini or Cesare Pavese are more often than not a matter of chance; the question of the chronological order of their writings does not come into it.

Only definitive editions of the complete works of the "great" are published,

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

such as Luigi Pirandello or Ialo Svevo.

Nevertheless Italian literature is being discussed, Italian books account for three per cent of translations on the German book market. It does represent an interest in Italian but, compared to translations from English and French, it is insignificant.

Even novels by as well-known an author as Alberto Moravia were selling an average of just 3,000 copies each. Books by Leonardo Sciascia, who sells well today, were unsuccessful.

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Nevertheless neo-realism was hit by crisis at the end of the 1950s. It's ideological impulses levelled off.

The "man of the people," hero of so many resistance and post-war novels, was no longer the protagonist of history but a production line worker at Fiat.

Italy's ultimate change into an industrial society thrust literature into deep crisis.

Pier Paolo Pasolini became the apologist for this crisis. He complained about cultural levelling out to which Italy, once so regionally varied, fell prey. He also pointed out the role the mass media, radio and television, had played.

Only the film was useful, with its neorealist tradition. In the film a residue of cultural identity could be retained in a mass consumer society through the careful selection of patterns of language usage.

As a result, at the beginnings of the 1960s, Pasolini turned inevitably to the cinema, although his films are not easy to decipher. They attracted more attention than his writings, which were mainly narratives written in the dialects of the Rome suburbs.

But in Germany Pasolini's life and the circumstances surrounding his death attracted more attention than his writings.

If the crisis in the Italian novel was not so clear at the beginning of the 1960s this was due to one book. It was an international sensation for Italian literature and became even more famous when it was made into a film by Visconti.

The novel was *The Leopard* by Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa.

Giuseppe di Lampedusa, a wealthy Sicilian prince, did not have much time for modern Italian literature. He complained about its provinciality and rhetorical, affected attitudes. He looked for his models among the great French realist novelists of the 19th century.

This resulted in an historical novel in which the Sicilian aristocracy, that had sunk into historical obscurity, once more stood out in nostalgic splendour.

Anyone who is perhaps not well acquainted with Italian literature recalls, perhaps, the impressive character of Prince Salina, thanks to the film version of the novel with the Prince played by Burt Lancaster.

The nobleman consciously and nonchalantly bowed out from inexorable

What is left to the reader is a delight in narration and in reading a book reflecting the dialectic of life and work, from which something new can always emerge, and at the same time a variety of artistic modes of expression can be used without reservation beside one another.

In this manner the way is cleared for a new creativity, for toying with forms of tradition and of one's own imagination, into which the more the author retreats the more the reader must, or can, become active.

The few possible readers have of embarking on something new, confronted with literature, is reduced in this way. The limitations of entertainment and mass-produced literature would at last be pierced.

So can books, even bestsellers, be constructed, as Eco has brilliantly demonstrated to us. *Dorothea Zeisel*

(Die Welt, Bonn, 3 August 1988)

Hans Stein

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 3 August 1988)

progress, an attitude which for many, who do not stand at anyone else's command, is seductive.

During the 1970s, in the wake of Lampedusa's successful novel, there was an increased accent on literature from southern Italy. Many of these books became well-known through being filmed.

Carlo Levi's banishment to Lucania in 1935-1936 was the subject of his *Christ stopped at Eboli*. This book was first made known to us through the film version by Francesco Rosi with Gian Maria Volonté in the main role.

Then the Sardinian Gavino Ledda was made famous by the Taviani brothers who filmed his autobiography with success, a book that is a story about the fight against illiteracy.

The cultural backwardness of southern Italy, complained about so often, left open here "zones of sincerity," which was fascinating to a large public, including tourists.

Leonardo Sciascia has made a name for himself as mediator between the two worlds of northern and southern Italy.

Literature was given a shot in the arm, however, when a man came on the scene, who had preserved sufficient of the poetic energy of neo-realism to be able to cope, at least satirically, with the changes of the 1950s. Resignedly and cheerfully he took stock of what literary resources remained.

The man was Italo Calvino who, in 1979, a few years before his death, published *Se una notte d'inverno un mago*, which was such as success.

At one point in the novel the main character, Ludmilla, says: "The novel that I would like to read most of all... must have as its driving force a pleasure of narration and an accumulation of stories, without forcing you to a world view, simply with the intention of letting you take part in its growth, like a tree, a rampage of branches and leaves."

Calvino also told his readers: "You have had enough of pages of intellectual corrosion, analytically tearing everything into tatters. You dream of returning to reading what is natural, innocent, original." But that is difficult in an era when there are no longer any novels.

Through the whole book Calvino leaves his reader together with Ludmilla in a vain search throughout literature for such a book.

The writer becomes an accomplice with the reader, who with him searches for a way out for the crisis of the novel.

Calvino is an honest writer. He does not give the reader the illusion that such a novel could be found.

What is left to the reader is a delight in narration and in reading a book reflecting the dialectic of life and work, from which something new can always emerge, and at the same time a variety of artistic modes of expression can be used without reservation beside one another.

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Definitions: *Football*, also known as *soccer*. It is a game watched by *fans* (a word shortened from "fanatic"). Fans are sometimes known as *supporters*. Some fans or supporters are *hooligans* (the original Hooligan is said to have been the leader of a street gang). Hooligans are sometimes known as *thugs* (from a Hindi word, *thag*, meaning a cheat) or *rowdies* (origin unknown). As well, there are ordinary people who go to soccer matches just to watch the action on the field. They are simply called *spectators*. Soccer matches also involve people called *policemen*, organisations called *clubs*, which form the players into things called *teams* and pay them lots and lots of money. The articles on this page discuss the relationship of the *fans* to the *club* and to each other. Winfried Wessendorf went for the national Springer daily, *Die Welt*, to a meeting in Bremen held by a youth organisation called *Deutsche Sportjugend* and Andreas Radtmiller writes in the *Nürnberg Nachrichten* about a study being funded jointly by the city of Nuremberg and the local club, FC Nürnberg.



It's just terrible during the cricket season... fans at Bremen. (Photo: dpa)

■ THE PHENOMENON OF THE SOCCER FAN

Everybody — except players — turns up to talk about just why he bothers

The Bremen congress kicked off in a restrained fashion. Fans, scientists, board members of professional league clubs, social workers, policemen, sports teachers and politicians all moved the ball around prettily as if none of them actually wanted to put it in the back of the net.

This was in sharp contrast to the traditions of the hall. Here in the community centre of Vahr, a Bremen suburb, the local SPD branch holds its meetings and feelings often run high.

The high point of this congress was instead the match between Werder Bremen, the Bundesliga champion last year, and Bayer Leverkusen.

The conference had been planned and prepared for a year, but there were no footballers there.

There were about 300 delegates, a third of them fans. This, he said, was not a conference about the fans, it was for and with them. For three days, everyone wanted to learn from each other; they wanted to share experiences.

The supporters were leaving no doubt who they supported. As they strolled through the streets to the hall, their banners proclaimed: "Red Devils", "Green White Angels", "Manchester United Supporters Club West Germany", "Alemannia Fan-Club Black White" and "Fan-Club Heiden Bayer 04 Leverkusen".

Then Weiss is a member of Autonomen Fanprojekt e.V., Borussia Mönchengladbach (another Bundesliga club). He wrote:

"The fan scene is chaotic, it varies greatly in nature, it is confused and lends itself badly to organisation. Members of the project pay 20 marks a month and gall themselves, in the English style, supporters and not fans." Fans, says Weiss, has such a negative sound to it.

He said the tension, this lack of order and the conscious or unconscious individual and collective drive against routine frustration, this was precisely the stimulus.

One said: "We are, after all, an important commercial factor."

This clearly tickled the fancy of Werder Bremen's president, Franz Böhmer, who was also representing the DFB, the German football association, who grinned.

He admitted frankly: "We haven't thought ahead that far. In spite of all the commercialisation, we must in the future take greater care of the fans. So far, we haven't given much attention to them as a part of this."

One fan, from Aachen, said: "All this hasn't got very much to do with football." He could imagine that he would be quite happy within other groups. A year and a half ago, he had given away following football and had become involved in politics. The leader of the

Aachen fans was a right-winger whereas he was a left-winger.

The fans, about 100 of them, were generally subdued. They sat beneath their club flags which decorated the spartan hall and listened spellbound to the words of the organisers.

The speaker referred to his own club, Bayer Leverkusen, and said it had made available 100,000 marks so the fans could travel outside Germany during the UEFA Cup competition last season (it won). He also regretted the alienation between the players ("the big shots," he called them) and the fans.

The fans resented being included among the hooligans, the rowdies who turned to violence. For this reason, an inter-regional group calling itself "United Fair Fans" was founded earlier in the year.

Frank, speaking at a work-group meeting, regretted that the conversation was inevitably being drawn towards the subject of violence. But the delegates did manage to pull themselves away from it and the theme was again only mentioned on the periphery. Of neo-Nazism there was no sign.

It did emerge in the work groups over the three days that matches themselves are only the occasion, not the cause, for like-minded young people to meet together.

A 21-year-old woman said: "For seven years, I have been going to Schulke (Schalke 04, a club based at Gelsenkirchen, in the Ruhr). I feel at home among the fans, but also, when I am not with them. The trips through the entire country are connected with a wish for adventure. The diversity and meeting new people — I like that."

She gained confidence when she saw she had the ear of Elk Franke, a sports scientist from Osnabrück. She continued: "New people join the group and everyone talks, naturally, about football. When we travel, both here and in other countries, we talk about the team."

Franke: "They are trying to discover themselves within a group of people their own age."

One fan, from Aachen, said: "All this hasn't got very much to do with football." He could imagine that he would be quite happy within other groups. A year and a half ago, he had given away following football and had become involved in politics. The leader of the

fanprojekt e.V., Sven Oberholz, said: "We don't want to neglect any point that might help us to get to the bottom of an extremely complex problem."

So far, however, not that much illuminating has emerged. Club vice-president Sven Oberholz, said: "We don't want to neglect any point that might help us to get to the bottom of an extremely complex problem."

FC Nuremberg has little worries about the about 8,000 fans organised into about 214 fan clubs. Oberholz said they identify with the team and contact with the club is closely maintained through five district coordinators.

The weak point was those non-organised fans who used football as a pretext for looking for trouble. Into this category were, for example, well-dressed poppers (people with distinctive hairstyles effecting a type of trendy elegance).

Several fans showed their frustration. They began, not too successfully, with a quote in English.

They said they "felt like the fifth wheel on the car, caught between the scientists and the politicians. The fans are only considered when they make trouble."

Winfried Wessendorf (Die Welt, Bremen, 13 August 1988)

Hooligans: born that way, or is it practice?

Long talks in a Nuremberg bar frequented by fans is characterised by some plain speaking. One fan said: "The media are always discriminating against us."

Another: "The Press should say what really happened — or say nothing at all."

The fans, followers of the Bundesliga club FC Nuremberg, tell members of a study group called XIT (the full name is nice and informative: Gesellschaft für sozialverträgliche Innovation und Technologie e.V.) about their enjoyment of football, about their daily worries, about their relationship with the police, the club and the media, and what they understand about violence and the people who take to violence.

Just one of the many observations was that "brawls are just a trial of strength. It is a sort of thing for the second division among the fans."

One says: "You can always expect a punch-up. But the one against the Bavarians (against the fans of Bayern Munich after a game a few weeks ago) was a total exception." So, brawls — are they a peripheral occurrence or part of the programme?

Violence in connection with soccer was around before the emergence of the English hooliganism — and obviously among Nuremberg fans, who are having to battle against a less-than-glorious past.

Bernd Haffner, a sociologist at the University of Bamberg, was "pleasantly surprised how openly every involved in the project were to each other." The fans found it interesting that someone should come along and discuss their problems.

Since February, a five-member XIT group comprising three sociologists, an architect and a psychologist have been working on an empirical study into violence in the Nuremberg stadium, "a stock-taking of the Nuremberg situation."

Much of the data has been collected. Information from other similar projects is to be incorporated and will be published at the end of the year.

Involved are fans, who are gradually becoming more trusting in and members of a work group called "Security in the Stadium". The efforts by sports authorities, public prosecutor, police and club are aimed at eliminating the more sensitive points.

So far, however, not that much illuminating has emerged. Club vice-president Sven Oberholz, said: "We don't want to neglect any point that might help us to get to the bottom of an extremely complex problem."

He said the tension, this lack of order and the conscious or unconscious individual and collective drive against routine frustration, this was precisely the stimulus.

A Frankfurt fan in an armless pink shirt, Bremen's president, Franz Böhmer, who was also representing the DFB, the German football association, who grinned.

He admitted frankly: "We haven't thought ahead that far. In spite of all the commercialisation, we must in the future take greater care of the fans. So far, we haven't given much attention to them as a part of this."

But that wasn't a matter of commerce. Football got money in the first instance through the spectators. The fans were a part of this.

One fan, from Aachen, said: "All this hasn't got very much to do with football." He could imagine that he would be quite happy within other groups. A year and a half ago, he had given away following football and had become involved in politics. The leader of the

fanprojekt e.V., Winfried Wessendorf (Die Welt, Bremen, 13 August 1988)

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■ FRONTIERS

Traffickers cash in on parents trying to get call-up age children out of Iran

Traffickers in children are making money out of the misery caused by the Gulf War. Parents are believed to be paying through the neck to get their children out of Iran with the money going to individuals in both Germany and Iran; to organisations set up specially to cash in; and in backchannels to Iranian officials in return for exit visas.

These "smugglers" leave evidence of their handiwork at almost every point of the flight route.

Shabnam, aged 13, for instance, had a false passport, which her mother had bought in Teheran.

The girl said that a family acquaintance passed himself off as her father, because her mother, the wife of a former air force officer in the Shah's government, could have been exposed to persecution.

In the case of 15-year-old Farnam it was helping hands in the Iranian Foreign Ministry who stamped his passport, for a price, and made it easy for him to get through passport control at the airport.

The words, "Consult Wolfgang Brinkmann" were written on a card which one child presented to the border police.

"Brinkmann," a youth authority official, is a well-known name in Teheran. It is believed that his address and that of the Kronberg home are worth a lot of Hesse, which Frankfurt is part of, buys.

Hermann Müller of the Workers' Welfare Association, works at a transit home at Kronberg, just outside Frankfurt. He says: "The children are in quite a state when they arrive."

Klaus Severin, of the border police, believes that specialist organisations offering to bring the children of worried parents in war-stricken Iran to safety are cashing in on the anxiety.

One 11-year-old at the home has heart trouble. He ran up and down the stairs all day long until his uncle came for him. By then he was exhausted. He had a briefcase containing a syringe and drugs for his injections.

Three girls sat waiting for their relations from Teheran to collect them. It would be the second attempt. Herr Müller said that the parents had come to the airport, but could not take the children with them because the correct papers had not been produced. Now it was two days later and everything was arranged.

The day the girls arrived, a youth authority official brought 12 children

Continued from page 14

aggro in English stadia than in packed out Italian stadia.

There are 1,000 theories about the causes, says Haffner. They range from neo-Fascism, unemployment, alcohol, mob-fighting, tough line by police and so on and so forth.

Investigations against her had to be stopped when it could not be proven that she was involved in trafficking children.

Fighting is often regarded as a sporting challenge, according to what the researchers hear. Other fans say the police take a soft line on principle so that individuals are not criminalised from the start.

The fight against the misuse of substances, especially football-related ones, has been intensified. Only specialised squads at state level, as in Lower Saxony, have any chance.

At the same time a central public prosecutor's office must be set up.

The leader of the Hamburg fan project, Peter Koch, says that readmittance of fans banned because of getting involved in trouble would be one solution; better than letting them carry on as hooligans.

XIT was founded in 1984 as an alternative research organisation. It aims at having a structure that is not hierarchical but interdisciplinary.

It also wants to give unemployed secondary school graduates the chance of gaining experience, and thus, perhaps, helping their careers.

So money is welcome; but is not planned for, says sociologist Norbert Schneider. The city of Nuremberg is contributing 8,000 marks to the project and FC Nuremberg itself 4,000 marks.

Andreas Radtmiller (Nürnberg Nachrichten, 30 July 1988)

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tears in the home. Nevertheless before the new regulations were introduced, six-year-olds had had to sit in the airport all day long, because they were simply overlooked by passport control.

Now all children from the crisis-stricken Gulf can enter the country without limitation.

The interior ministers of the German Länder have agreed on an "Iranian regulation," which allows children into the country without hindrance. A visa is not necessary.

But the children are only allowed to stay temporarily.

They cannot make application for asylum themselves, but the Frankfurt Youth Affairs Office, responsible for the airport, applies for guardianship of the children if no one with parental authority or a representative for the parents turns up.

After questioning, an application for asylum for most of the Iranian children

is made to the federal government office responsible at Zirndorf in Bavaria. This costs the Frankfurt Youth Affairs Office a lot.

Legislation makes the community, where the children are, responsible for paying for their upkeep.

Günter Smentek said: "So long as their residential status is not cleared up, the local communities concerned must foot the bill."

At present, on orders from Social Affairs Minister Karl-Heinz Träger, Hess has taken over responsibility for costs.

The home at Kronberg has become a "clearing post," where it can be established whether the children should be accommodated by families, relatives or in a welfare home. Plans are being considered to send the Iranian children to other Länder.

Günter Smentek said: "It would be easiest for us if local communities in Lower Saxony and North Rhine-Westphalia took over payment responsibilities, but that the children remained in the home surroundings they have usually got used to."

The "clearing process" is made all that more difficult because of the various reasons for leaving Iran.

The "boom" began at the beginning of the Iranian school holidays in June.

Reasons given for leaving Iran for a short stay in the Federal Republic range from language courses, medical treatment to visiting relatives.

The most usual reason the youngsters give is that their parents were unhappy with the political regime.

The largest group of youngsters is made up of the 15-year-olds, who are recruited at school for military service, to serve with the Revolutionary Guards, the Pashdaran. They can disappear almost unnoticed at the end of the school year. Hence the wave of child-refugees to Germany at this time of the year.

The children must register afresh at a school every year; if they are not back in their classroom on the first day after the summer holidays, 12 September, it would not necessarily be expected that they had flown. Moving house or changing schools would also be possibilities.

Germany came out strongly for this legislation, passed two years ago, examinations at abattoirs should be carried out not by vets but by controllers. Their training is limited to a three-month course.

Germany came out strongly for this legislation, passed two years ago, and it was recently passed.

The Health Ministry in Bonn regards this qualification as adequate.

Angela Seiter (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 18 August 1988)

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 18 August 1988)

(Für Deutschland, 10 August 1988)